HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section *Printed in Two Sections*

Voice of Congress: This week, in the midst of the noisy battle to elect a Chief Executive, Capitol Hill listened to a voice which attacked the power of the Executive branch and reasserted the independence of the Legislative.

Friends on the Hill who talked to him said that the Senate Democratic Leader, Lyndon Johnson, here from Texas on a visit, wasted little time commenting on the Presidential race but, instead, emphasized forcibly what he thought relations between the Executive and Congress ought to be in the next session, beginning in January.

Johnson speaks with authority, as he works well with Sam Rayburn, Democratic Speaker of the House, and his remarks should give reassurance to conservatives who fear radical legislation following election of Adlai, or if Ike is re-elected, a turn to the left on the part of the White House.

Johnson told friends that Congress next session will set out to "recapture" the power which it has lost to the White House over the past two decades. The "dictatorial position of the White House," he said, will have to be destroyed. The White House custom of sending up to Congress a list of "must legislation" which the Chief Executive requests should be passed has to be stopped — he added.

And how shall all this be done? The Democratic majority leader of the Senate did not hesitate to supply the answer: "By the bipartisan combination." Johnson meant the unofficial coalition of Northern Republican conservatives and Southern Democratic conservatives who put over the Taft-Hartley Act, the McCarran-Walter Immigration bill, and who killed or drastically amended various pieces of leftist legislation. This coalition arose in the late Thirties, thrived in the Forties under Taft and Byrd, and rose to its height in 1950-52.

But, while Democrats defied presidents of their own party (Roosevelt and Truman), it was found after 1952 that Republicans hesitated to do the same towards Eisenhower when he or his aides "cracked the whip" on legislation which they very much wanted. The old coalition has, to a certain extent, functioned imperfectly and spasmodically in the past four years.

How about the next four years? Politicos have assumed that if Ike is re-elected his power over his party will wane progressively after November 6 because he cannot run for a third term, as a result of the 22nd Amendment to the Constitution. The Capital believes he had this on his mind when he said, in last week's press conference, that the 22nd Amendment was not "wholly wise."

Therefore, observers believe that "the new Lyndon Johnson," evidenced by that visitor's remarks this week in the Senate Office Building, will exert a conservative influence, no matter which Presidential candidate comes out on top next month.

Election Trends — Presidency: During the past week, Ike's stock, which had suffered a "selling wave" the previous week, bounced upward. Real reasons: (1) Adlai's diminutive stature as a candidate loomed more clearly; and (2) his blooper in calling for an end of H-bomb tests. On the other hand, Ike was guilty of a blooper in giving the impression he wouldn't mind a third term. As for the big crowds which he brings out wherever he goes, politicos here discount this as clinching evidence of political superiority. "Any President can pack the sidewalks," they say, and remind us that Harry Truman in 1952 brought out tremendous crowds.

Election Trends — Congressional: A very high Republican member of Congress, in an excellent position to know what he is talking about, gives us the following forecast of the outcome of the Congressional elections. House: Democrats — 248; Republicans — 187. Senate: Democrats —

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51; Republicans — 45. He explains the score in the Senate as follows: The Republicans will suffer a net loss of two seats (they now have 47). They will lose three seats they now hold: In Ohio — George Bender; in Connecticut — Prescott Bush; and in Pennsylvania — James Duff. They will pick up one seat now held by the Democrats — the GOP's John Sherman Cooper is favored to win this Democratic seat in Kentucky. (The other Republican candidate, ex-Assistant Secretary of State Thruston Morton, will lose to veteran Earle C. Clements, and the Ike-Nixon ticket will fail to carry the Blue Grass State.)

Other observations of this well-informed Republican: GOP attempts to win Democratic-held seats will fail in Washington, where Magnuson will repel the GOP's Langlie; in Oregon, where Democrat Wayne Morse will edge out Douglas McKay; and in New York, where Wagner will beat Javits. Several uncertain situations: GOP Senator Butler in Maryland; and GOP Senator Everett Dirksen in Illinois. One hopeful situation: Senator Herman Welker in Idaho will probably win — it now appears — as a result of a split in Democratic ranks.

Political Flashes: The "secret weapon" which the Democrats have been saving for late in the campaign is — according to a reliable source — an all-out smear job on Assistant to the President Sherman Adams. Mr. Adams is scarcely popular with legions of Republicans, and the Democrats figure the subject is "pay dirt." It is said that J. Howard McGrath (former Attorney General under President Truman), now with the Stevenson Committee, is the "brains" behind the projected anti-Adams drive.

● Down in Maine, it is feared that the Democrats are up to mischief in the recount of the election of GOP Congressman Hale of the First District, who won by a photo finish of 26 votes. Not unnaturally, the Democrats asked for a recount. Now, Democratic staff members of a Congressional elections committee are slated to go to Maine to "supervise" the recount. Republicans fear that a lot of GOP votes will be so "supervised" that the veteran Hale will lose his seat.

● Discount much of the significance assigned by Democrats to the Democratic victory in Alaska, according to intelligence sent to us from reliable sources in Juneau. Many inhabitants of that territory, whether Democrat or Republican, are discontented with the GOP coolness toward Alaskan statehood, a popular issue up there. But do not discount — say these sources — another factor which played a part in the Republican defeat. This was the loss of morale in the GOP ranks in Alaska as a result of ill-treatment at the hands of the Republican Administration in Washington. (This is a familiar plaint all over the country.) "The arrogance [says our correspondent] and contempt with which the orthodox Republicans and regular party organization have been treated, patronage-wise, have rendered it absolutely impossible to ever attempt to defend, let alone laud, the Eisenhower Administration in Alaska."

On The Foreign Front: "No war will break out before the 6th of November" — such is the intelligence disclosed to HUMAN EVENTS by a high officer in the Administration. But his manner suggested that after that important date it might be "c'est la deluge." Not only in the Near East, but also in Europe and the halls of the UN, it is expected that new and very disturbing developments will ruffle if not destroy pre-election peace. Our best friend, Adenauer's Germany, seems likely to move away from participation in the NATO army and to become the nucleus of a "neutral" bloc — aloof both from Soviet Russia and the United States. Meanwhile, the Soviet and its satellites and friends will try to arrange UN admission for Red China. And the Suez situation — with British and French logistics all prepared — may well explode.

● Reports around town that Secretary Dulles will next week announce resumption of foreign aid — military and economic — to Red Yugoslavia suggest some election trouble for the Administration. The Hearst newspapers, among Ike's strongest supporters, have taken a very strong line against resumption of aid to Tito, arguing that the Communist dictator at the present juncture is obviously acting as Moscow's agent to build up a new axis of totalitarian powers against the United States and the Free World.

● As the Suez dispute enters the United Nations arena in New York, it is remarked ironi-

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cally that the famous Suez Canal had its origin, in part, early in the 19th Century, as a device to insure international cooperation, not the present kind of imbroglio. Paul W. Ward, diplomatic correspondent of *The Baltimore Sun* (October 8) reminds readers that the first conception of the Canal came from the Count de Saint-Simon, father of French socialism, who advocated a "universal association" of nations to maintain the peace, and who preached the value of public works projects such as the Suez Canal as ways to get such international cooperation.

Labor: Washington is talking about the opposite natures of the Democrat and Republican top political strategy. The Democrats are centering their efforts upon the election of Democratic Congressmen; they expect that their emphasis upon the building up of the Democratic party will help elect Stevenson. The Republicans are concentrating upon the re-election of Eisenhower, hoping that drive will percolate down to their Congressional candidates.

The AFL-CIO — the controlling influence in the Democratic party — several months ago began fulfillment of its plan first to get every union member to register, and second to place in his hand the voting records — as interpreted by the AFL-CIO — of the candidates in his district for Congress. Where state laws permit, mobile registration booths are placed at factory gates and every worker is dragooned into registering. Special effort is made to coerce the workers to list their party association as Democratic; and in some areas 95 per cent of the union members are so registered. Dire consequences are hinted to unionists who fail to comply.

Reuther, who heads the AFL-CIO political drive, hopes that even if Ike wins, a labor-controlled Congress will frustrate passage of the conservative portions of the White House program and accelerate passage of the New Deal portions.

It is now becoming apparent, say Washington experts, that the GOP-inspired plan for holding conventions in August instead of July is helping the Democrats and hurting the Republicans. The Democratic party has a highly effective AFL-CIO 17-million member machine that can go into full-scale operation upon a moment's notice. The Republicans, on the other hand, must depend upon hundreds of thousands of volunteers who are difficult to organize until the nominations have been made. If the Republican drive cannot be begun until the first of September — as happened this year — the Democrats have a running start that is almost impossible to overcome.

Investigations: Cynical observers take note of the strange coincidence that four Congressional committees — all, of course, with Democratic chairmen — simultaneously begin investigatory hearings exactly four weeks before Election Day, all shooting more or less directly at Republican targets.

The quartet:

1. A Senate Banking subcommittee, headed by Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, meeting in Chicago to take testimony on the million-dollar defalcations of former Illinois state auditor Orville Hodge (a Republican). (No hearings are scheduled on Chicago city misappropriation scandals involving Democrats.)

2. The Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, headed by Senator Olin Johnston of South Carolina, who effectively gaveled down GOP Senator William Langer's charge that the mid-campaign probe of alleged political post office job selling in Texas was pure politics.

3. The special Senate Lobby Investigating Committee headed by Senator John McClellan of Arkansas, which thus far is rummaging into oil-and-gas industry activities rather than Republicanism *per se*.

4. The Senate Campaign Expenditures Investigating Committee, chaired by Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee, which conveniently furnished a forum for leftist labor leader Walter Reuther to charge that union political contributions "are just peanuts" compared with gifts by management to "candidates on the other side of the fence" — in Reuther-ese, of course, meaning to Republicans.

Sheer coincidence, of course.

Atlantic Union: *Freedom and Union* is the official monthly publication of the Atlantic Union movement, which would organize all nations bordering on the Atlantic Ocean — and some only close to it — into a supra-government which would

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take over much of the sovereignty of the nations involved.

The lead editorial in the October issue of *Freedom and Union* starts: "Atlantic Unionists face the happiest choice in this U.S. election they have ever faced. In October, 1952, we wrote here: 'Whoever wins, they can't lose, since both Eisenhower and Stevenson are in favor of closer Atlantic unity, and both Nixon and Sparkman are sponsors of the Atlantic Union resolution.' That applies now, only more.

"The one change in the two tickets since 1952 is that the chief sponsor of the Atlantic resolution, Senator Kefauver, has replaced his unfailing co-sponsor, Senator Sparkman, as the Democratic nominee for Vice President. And meanwhile, the office of Vice President has gained in importance. Meanwhile, too, all four candidates have moved our way."

Take your choice.

Senator Kefauver, currently working over the GOP, once found himself allied with the two Republicans the Democrats like the least — McCarthy and Nixon. On July 26, 1949, Kefauver presented his "Atlantic Union" Resolution (see HUMAN EVENTS, September 1, 1956) to the Senate for the first time; among his co-sponsors was Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. On January 15, 1951, Kefauver introduced the resolution again; this time, McCarthy was not among the backers — but Richard Nixon was.

Annual Financial Shindig: Washington society pages were full of daily reports on the social doings incident to the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank for Reconstruction and Development, plus a newcomer this year, the World Bank's test-tube baby, the International Finance Corporation. A typesetter's error caused *The Washington Post and Times Herald* to caption a photo "Monetary Fun Officials," which some think hit the nail on the head. Governors and their alternates on the Fund and Bank are brought to the annual meetings from some five dozen countries all over the world. All expenses are paid, of course, by the institutions. Each of these officials gets $50 a day.

Ex-Treasury Secretary John Snyder is quoted in the press as saying that Fund and Bank are worth the billions we have put in them for the sake of the annual get-together alone. That the meetings are costly HUMAN EVENTS pointed out last December 3. The 1955 meeting in Istanbul cost $794,000. This was good for the American Express Company, which has the inside track on the tickets, and for all who came back praising the delights of Turkey and the Bosporus. It is much cheaper to hold the meetings in Washington, as this avoids the cost of sending the staffs abroad. So now, for the first time, the powers that be have decided that two meetings in succession — 1956 and 1957 — will be held in Washington. We trust it will be more than two.

Bound volumes for 1956 — indexed — may now be ordered for March delivery. Regular price, $15; pre-publication price, accepted until December 31, $7.50 each. A few indexed bound volumes for 1955 are available at $15. None available for previous years.

Letter from CARROLL D. KEARNS, U. S. Representative from Pennsylvania: "HUMAN EVENTS, under the distinguished editing of Frank Hanighen, has made an outstanding contribution to accurate reporting of the Washington scene and to a firm belief in our Great Republic. I only wish that every adult in the United States had the privilege of reading your highly informative newsletter."

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The Declaration of Independence opens: "When in the course of HUMAN EVENTS . . ."

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor and Publisher*
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Article Section

ADA ON THE BRINK OF POWER

By M. STANTON EVANS

IF ELECTED, Adlai Stevenson has pledged, he will consecrate himself to creating a New America. Stevenson probably means something by this, and he has even offered an occasional clue — bobbing in the Niagara of rhetoric and wild promises — as to what it is. By now it should be clear that, in the New Stevensonian U.S., an outfit called "Americans for Democratic Action" will ascend, at last, to power. As the clearing-house for Fabian Socialism in America, ADA holds the patent on all of Stevenson's placebos; more important, perhaps, it claims a copyright on Adlai himself.

Issuing a steady stream of press releases, a monthly newspaper, and other *obiter dicta* from its modest eyrie at 1341 Connecticut Avenue, ADA has occasionally been able to make its influence felt. But it has never achieved complete triumph in the form of a captive Chief Executive. Formed during Truman's first term as a haven for the "non-communist left," ADA fought the President's re-nomination. When he proved too strong for them, the ADA-ers forgot their much-vaunted "integrity" and quickly contrived a makeshift peace — an intellectual *mésalliance* which at times proved convivial, but never secure. When Stevenson made his vague bid in 1952, the ADA-ers saw glory, and scampered — chattering of "greatness" — to the slaughter. Now, after a four-year pout, they have emerged once more from their New York, Boston, and Louisville strongholds, ready for battle. They do not intend to miss the jack pot a second time.

ADA has two major goals. First of all, it is totally dedicated to collectivism; although rejecting the label "socialist," it does not conceal its wish to put our economy and our lives under complete government control. While busy constructing a police state, however, ADA wants to insure that all "civil liberties" will be preserved. Just how these aims are to be reconciled is never quite discussed.

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., a leading architect of ADA policies, has stated that "the idea [behind ADA] was *simply* this: that a liberal movement should properly devote itself to the maintenance of individual liberties and to the democratic control of economic life and *that it should brook no compromise on either of these two central tenets.*" (Italics added.)

How simple can an idea get? "We propose," Mr. Schlesinger says in effect, "to sit and stand at the same time. And we serve notice that at no time will we let our standing interfere with our sitting, or vice versa." Such is the position of ADA and its spokesman: ADA stands squarely on its program of uncompromising self-violation, Mr. Schlesinger stands squarely in his own mouth.

To achieve "democratic control of economic life," ADA has advocated about every statist scheme in the book. Price controls (which produce a shortage of consumer goods), wage controls (which depress the labor market), and rent controls (which throttle housing construction). It backed the Brannan Plan and opposed Taft-Hartley; it blasts private utilities ("the interests") and promotes the accretion of power in the Federal Executive.

It apparently never occurs to the Deep Thinkers in ADA (or to Mr. Stevenson, who is currently in the throes of responding to ADA's program almost point for point) that their proposals for "control" involve the civil liberties of countless people. But no matter — for the ADA philosophy of "democratic control" concentrates on the group, not the individual. "Democratic control of economic life" is not concerned with individual rights; and those who insist on them have, in Stevenson's phrase, yet to be "dragged, kicking and screaming, into the Twentieth Century." True, an ADA spokesman will grant, "democratic control" contravenes the Constitution. But then, the Constitution is "outmoded" or, at best, "evolving." At any rate, it cannot stand in the way of The Welfare and Security of the Little People.

There *is* one point, however, at which ADA stands firm for liberty. Repeatedly, it has called for repeal of the Smith Act. Because the Smith Act makes it a crime to advocate the violent overthrow of our government, says ADA, it infringes upon *individual rights.* Because Senator McCarthy says that people who refuse to deny they are Communists probably are Communists — maintain the Constitution-loving Deep Thinkers (who just finished telling us that the Constitution is "outmoded") — he impairs the dignity of the Fifth

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Amendment.[1] ADA-er Elmer Davis, ("America's most beloved commentator," as an *ADA World* "news story" flatly puts it), published a now-famous book dealing with these matters, called *But We Were Born Free.* ADA was so taken with this opus that it distributed copies to its members at a discount. Davis maintained in this book that the individual was everything, the group nothing. (If, that is, the individual were by any chance suspected of rendering his services to the Communist conspiracy.)

Thus, when dealing with *ordinary* American citizens, ADA says: security first, freedom last. But when dealing with *treasonable* American citizens, it says: freedom first, security last.

Seeking to escape the logical trap into which it has foundered, ADA contrives special catch phrases on which it can concentrate its fire. Anyone who thinks there is such a thing as an internal Communist menace, says ADA, is clearly "hysterical." Another ADA peeve is the "secret informer"; than a "secret informer," ADA maintains, there is nothing lower — unless it is the government agency that uses one. Those who suggest that those attitudes mean ADA is "soft" on Communism invite a rebuff from such as James Wechsler, an ADA-er who represents himself as hypersensitive to Muscovite treachery. But if ADA is, as it claims, an anti-Communist organization, it is the first one that ever had a chairman like Joseph L. Rauh. Rauh was one of ADA's founders and has been in one top position or another ever since. Among his other anti-communist activities were his job as Legal Representative of Communist Poland in 1946, and his labors on behalf of Communist William Remington.[2] No voice is louder than Rauh's in condemning the twin evils — "hysteria" and "secret informers."

Because this line of talk is at variance with the facts, it is hypocritical. But, as the case of Paul Hughes demonstrated a few months back, ADA has stacked layer upon layer of hypocrisy. Hughes, a clever opportunist in search of an easy dollar, concocted a wild fantasy in which he played a renegade member of Senator McCarthy's staff. Having assumed this identity, he sought to vend bogus "information" about McCarthy's skulduggery. In order to work his hoax, Hughes needed to find someone who was (a) self-righteous in condemning McCarthy, but willing to dirty his hands in a supposedly treacherous liaison; (b) influential and wealthy enough to pay Hughes handsomely, but fatuous enough to swallow easily discredited lies. In short, he was looking for someone like the National Chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, Joseph L. Rauh. And that is exactly who he found.

Writing in *The Progressive* for May, 1950, Rauh had exhorted: "Let us do away with confidential informants, dossiers, political spies . . . No one can guess where this process of informing will end." Had he been able to look five years into the future, Rauh would have seen the process arriving, though not necessarily ending, at his own doorstep. When Paul Hughes came to him with his portfolio of lies, Rauh reached for his pocketbook. Before this tawdry episode was over, ADA's chairman had paid out $8,000 on various pretexts. Rauh consciously used Hughes (or so he thought) as a "confidential," "paid," and "secret" informer, who was regularly turning over "dossiers" on McCarthy and his staff, in his capacity as Rauh's "political spy." Encouraged by the response he was getting, Hughes sold Rauh a final whopper: McCarthy & Co., he said, kept an *arsenal* in the basement of the Senate Office Building. After the mess of deceit that Hughes had served up, steaming hot, Rauh apparently had no difficulty in swallowing this one. Hysteria?

Working in conjunction with Clayton Fritchey, Deputy National Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and Alfred Friendly, Managing Editor of the *Washington Post,* Rauh got set to break everything open. Then, at the last minute, a *Washington Post* staffer decided to check some of the Hughes information — at which point the whole house of cards collapsed. Thus ended Joseph L. Rauh's weird odyssey of naive backstabbing. This disparity between the pious talk and the underhanded dealing of its peerless leader is only one of many contradictions that rend ADA.[3]

ADA's nominal method of advancing its program is to run and/or endorse candidates for public office. But the extreme left-wing nature of the group has filtered through to the public, and ADA endorsement is, in many cases, a definite liability. Among those who have publicly sought to unhitch

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[1] While the rest of the Constitution has "evolved" to authorize *less* freedom than the framers intended, the perverse Fifth Amendment has "evolved" to authorize *more.*

[2] Remington was convicted of perjury for denying his party membership. When, prior to his conviction, he was cleared of a disloyalty charge, *ADA World* throbbed that this "was unquestionably the most important and well publicized decision so far handed down by the government's top loyalty review board. This major civil liberties victory can be credited in large measure to Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. . . ."

[3] On foreign affairs, ADA's double standard is, if anything, even more noticeable. Its spokesmen, who claim shrewd insight into the ways of Communists, fell all over themselves getting into the Geneva boat, and now call on us to "coexist" with the Soviet Union in the great new age of Economic Competition. Professing to be a "moral" organization, ADA advocated with brutal cynicism American recognition of Communist China. It looks with favor on the "nationalism" of India or Israel, but wantonly attacks anyone advocating American "nationalism." It has called for a "world government with powers adequate to prevent war," yet its Deep Thinkers opposed use of the UN's "police power" to punish aggression by Red China in Korea.

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themselves from ADA are Michigan's G. Mennen Williams, New York's Averell Harriman, former Democratic National Chairman Stephen Mitchell, and (but of this more presently) Democratic presidential nominee Adlai Stevenson. Perhaps the most stunning repudiation ever dealt ADA was that of Foster Furculo, State Treasurer of Massachusetts, in 1953. Furculo had twice served in the House of Representatives, both times with ADA endorsement. But on December 12, 1953, Furculo turned his back on ADA. As *keynote speaker* of the Massachusetts ADA State Convention, Furculo told his dumbstruck audience:

> . . . you are undermining or hurting programs which are good for America . . . Whether rightly or wrongly, fairly or unfairly, the fact is that the public is apt to oppose immediately whatever you support . . . Ask any public official or any candidate who cover a fairly large area . . . I do not believe you will find even one who will acknowledge you . . . because you no longer enjoy the confidence of the public and no candidate can win without it.

If ADA is so unpopular, how does it manage to exert any influence at all? More important, how has it come, today, to the very brink of national power?

LET US examine a recent specific example of the way ADA gets things done. In the lately adjourned second session of the 84th Congress, ADA opposed all of the following: the Natural Gas Bill; flexible farm supports; limitation of U.S. participation in the ILO; the curtailed public housing bill; halving foreign aid to India; private power development in Hell's Canyon; reducing foreign military aid by $400 million. Of all these issues, it seems safe to say that the only one on which the public was even vaguely aware of the ADA position was the Natural Gas Bill. And that only because the squabble over the measure brought ADA's lobbying to light. Yet on every one of these proposals, ADA *arguments* received prominent attention and support, while the ADA *name* hovered in the background, forgotten and seemingly unimportant.

This comes about because many ADA-ers who influence thinking are not generally thought of as being connected with ADA. Americans hate "socialism" but accept its components piecemeal when called by another name and promoted by "respected" people. ADA members are strategically placed to accomplish this installment-plan conquest. They fall most conveniently into four categories:

1) Those who, by controlling the wellheads of information, can influence public opinion regardless of personal or organizational unpopularity. Examples are ADA-members James Wechsler and Dorothy Schiff of the New York *Post*, and Palmer Hoyt of the Denver *Post*.[4] In Louisville, Kentucky, a city of half-a-million people, there is a single newspaper — *The Courier-Journal* (with an afternoon edition called *The Louisville Times*). This paper, run by two ADA-ers, Barry Bingham and Mark Ethridge, antagonizes many conservative Louisvillians. By virtue of its monopoly position, however, it is an effective "liberal" mouthpiece, insistently kneading and pounding *all* opinion, even that of conservatives, on key issues such as "McCarthyism."

2) Those who must trade on their personal following, but have audiences unaware that their favorites are ADA-ers. This seems to be the most numerous, and probably the most powerful group. It has included such outright ADA members as Joseph and Stewart Alsop, Thomas L. Stokes, Marquis Childs, Elmer Davis, and Hodding Carter; and such party-lining pundits (although they have no formal ADA connection) as Max Lerner, Walter Lippmann, Edward R. Murrow, *et alia*.

3) Those who do not affect large segments of public opinion, but who exert great immediate influence in the arena of political action. In this group come ADA's ten "100 per cent" Senators (Humphrey, Laird, Neely, Kefauver, Hennings, Lehman, McNamara, Douglas, Neuberger, Morse), who represent a pro-ADA base on every Senate roll call. ADA has about 100 House members in its pocket. Along with the Senators go the big labor bosses, notably Walter Reuther and David Dubinsky, whose control over the UAW and the ILGWU is uncontested.

4) The "intellectuals." Of these, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., is perhaps the most outspoken. J. K. Galbraith and Archibald MacLeish crowd close behind, while theologian Reinhold Niebuhr and attorney Morris Ernst — although each is known to have flirted with heresy — are accounted among the faithful. Radiating about these mighty minds, in various stages of affinity to ADA ideas, are the Commagers, Rossiters, Hutchinses, and Chafees. Apart from these professional idea-mongers, ADA has a firm grip on the four party-line magazines of the extreme left — *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, *The Reporter*, and *The Progressive*, as well as a tentacle or two around the two intellectual monthlies — *Harper's* and *The Atlantic*.

This is a powerful array of forces. And, without exception, it is pro-Stevenson as well as pro-ADA.

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[4] Hoyt once issued a memorandum to his staff telling them not to report news on Senator McCarthy objectively, but to "interpret" it for the *Post's* readers.

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The same wiles used to sell other ADA programs have been employed on Stevenson's behalf. This places Stevenson in an odd situation. He needs the support, but he wants the ADA angle played down. The *ADA World* for Nov. 10, 1948 called Stevenson "one of the original founders of ADA in Chicago." In February, 1952, it referred to him as "a charter member of ADA." The modest Adlai, in an attempt to unglue himself from the ADA flypaper, has denied both distinctions. Adlai got so far with this gambit that he gained Southern support on the theory that he was a "moderate" or even, *pace* Lewis Carroll, a "conservative." At the Democratic Convention, Stevenson vetoed Hubert Humphrey as his running mate because of Humphrey's widely advertised ADA connections. This decision was ironic, not to say hypocritical, for Stevenson himself is bound to ADA by ties both numerous and strong.

If anyone takes the trouble to locate a bona fide Stevenson opinion nestling within the oratorical fat, he will find it to be an ADA opinion as well. ADA-Stevenson similarities *could*, of course, be independent distillations from our fetid political climate. But inspection of those with whom Stevenson consorts, and those to whom he is indebted, leaves no doubt that the identical results have identical causes. A sampling of the big names in the Stevenson camp produces the following:

1) *Walter Reuther.* It was David McDonald (who, according to Victor Riesel, withdrew his support from ADA because it was "too militant, too much left of center") that favored Harriman, the "extremist," during the Democratic Convention. Whereas it was Reuther, among the most fanatical of ADA's janissaries, that supported the "conservative" Stevenson. If Stevenson succeeds in merchandising his transparent "conservatism" and carries the South, Americans may wind up by voting themselves an administration run by Walter Reuther, class-struggle ideologue *par excellence.*

2) *Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt,* who used her immense if intangible prestige to hold the line for "conservative" Adlai, back there when Truman was being so mean. Mrs. Roosevelt is a founder, member, and The Great Pink Goddess of ADA.

3) *Wilson Wyatt,* a founder and first National Chairman of ADA, who was Stevenson's campaign manager in 1952. Wyatt, legal adviser to the Louisville *Courier-Journal,* is still as close to Stevenson as a mustard plaster.

4) *Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.,* leader of the band of Deep Thinkers that worked with Adlai in 1952, is also still around. Schlesinger was a founder of ADA.

5) *Thomas K. Finletter,* who copped the ADA seal of approval for his book, *Power and Policy,* a collection of unsweet nothings offered at a discount through the "ADA Book Club." Finletter, certified by *ADA World* as an "ADA National Board Member," is presently one of Stevenson's inner circle advisers on foreign policy. He is touted as Secretary of State or Defense in a Stevenson administration.

6) *Michael Straight,* like Finletter, is a "National Board Member" of ADA. His distorted rehash of the Army-McCarthy hearings, *Trial by Television,* was accorded the same honor as Finletter's book. Straight may look to have some influence if Adlai wins, since he was formerly Editor-in-Chief, now Editor-at-Large, of *The New Republic,* a magazine unexcelled in its wholesale commitment to the Stevenson candidacy.

7) *Barry Bingham,* Editor and President of the Louisville *Courier-Journal,* and an ADA founder, presently heads up, with Mrs. Edison Dick, the National Stevenson for President Committee.

8) *Clayton Fritchey,* who assisted ADA's Rauh in collecting lies from Paul Hughes, will be the Jim Hagerty of the New America. In spite of (or perhaps because of) his involvement in the Hughes mess, Fritchey has been appointed to serve as Stevenson's Press Secretary.

9) *Chester Bowles,* whose book, *The New Dimensions of Peace,* also went the ADA book-club route. It is reported that Bowles now feeds his ideas about a "world in revolution," which appeared in that volume, directly into Stevenson's ear, and that he will receive an important post if Adlai wins next month.

10) Harvard Professor *J. K. Galbraith,* an ADA founder who plies Adlai with leftist "economics."

In short, if Stevenson comes to power, ADA comes to power. This will not constitute — as ADA itself said of Richard Nixon's renomination — "a dark and dangerous gamble with the nation's future." To "gamble," after all, you have to have *some* kind of chance at winning.

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